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AN HISTORICAL COMMENTARY ON
ALFRED de MUSSET'S LORENZACCIO

BY

AIMEE LEFFINGWELL McKENZIE

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I HEREBY RECOMMEND THAT THE THESIS PREPARED UNDER MY
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K McKenzie
In Charge of Thesis


K McKenzie
Head of Department

Recommendation concurred in*

D. H. Carnahan
Arthur Hamilton

Committee
on
Final Examination*

*Required for doctor's degree but not for master's



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AN HISTORICAL COMMENTARY ON ALFRED DE MUSSET'S

LORENZACCIO

I.

Sources

When in 1833 George Sand went to Italy with Alfred de Musset, she took with her the sketch of a play entitled Une Conspiration en 1537, Scène historique. This play centered about the murder of Alexandre de Médicis, first Duke of Florence, by his cousin Lorenzino. ⁽¹⁾ Gauthiez says that the play was even written and that the manuscript was in the possession of the late vicomte Spoelberch de Lovenjoul. He adds a list of characters and ⁽²⁾ states that Madame Sand's drama was in 6 scenes. Séché also quotes this list of characters and gives Gauthiez as his authority, but his list differs in several points from that of Gauthiez, probably through careless copying. We may note the omission of Lorenzino's name and other errors. Moreover, both these lists

(1) Pierre Gauthiez, Lorenzaccio, p. 338. M. le Vicomte Spoelberch de Lovenjoul died since Gauthiez's book was published.

(2) Léon Séché, Alfred de Musset, vol. II, p. 51.

(1)

differ greatly from that of Musset.

(2)

Lafoscade devotes twenty pages in his book on Musset's plays, to the discussion of Lorenzaccio, in connection with Varchi's Chroniques as its probable source. But he attaches considerable importance to George Sand's drama, the title of which he reverses: Scène historique; une conspiration en 1537. He tell us first, that the drama began with the sword scene (corresponding to Musset's Act I, scene 4), and ended with the murder (corresponding to Musset's Act IV, scene 11); and second, that certain scenes in Musset's play, e.g., the latter part of Act II, scene 4, are modelled closely on George Sand. In the first edition of Un Spectacle dans un

(1) Gauthiez' list of George Sand's characters compared with Séché's list:

(Gauthiez)	(Séché)
Alexandre de Médicis, grand-duc(?) de Florence	Alexandre de Médicis, grand-duc de Florence
Valori, commissaire apostolique.	Valori, commissaire apostolique
Malatesta Baglione, commandant des forces militaires(?)	Malatesta Baglione, commandant des forces militaires(?)
Le Cavalier de Marsilj)officiers	Le Cavalier de Marsilj)officiers
Le Capitaine Cesena)de la	Le Capitaine Cesena)de la
)maison du)maison
)grand-duc	
Giomo le Hongrois)écuyers du	Giomo le Hongrois)écuyer du
Fernando l'Andaloux)grand-duc	Fernando l'Andalou)grand-duc
Lorenzo de Médicis, cousin du grand-duc	
Madonna Maria Soderini, mère de Lorenzo	
Madonna Catterina (Sic!), soeur de Lorenzo	Madonna Catterina, soeur de Lorenzo
Bindo Altoviti, oncle de Lorenzo(?)	Rindo Altoviti, oncle de Lorenzo
Michel del Tavolaccino, dit Scoronconcolo, spadassin	Michel del Tavolaccino, dit Scoronconcolo, spadassin
Giulio Capponi, citoyen de Florence	Giulio Capponi, citoyen de Florence
Écuyers, pages du grand-duc, etc.	Écuyers, pages du grand-duc, etc.

Musset's list of characters may be found on page 5.

(2) Léon Lafoscade, Le Théâtre D'Alfred De Musset, p.129-49

fautueil, Prose (August, 1834), in which Lorenzaccio appears for the first time, is an extract in Italian from Varchi. This, however, according to Lafoscade⁽¹⁾, does not resemble the manuscripts of Varchi to be found in Florence, or in Germany, but is identical with the current edition of the Classici Italiani (Milan, 1803-4) which Musset could have seen in Paris as well as in Italy. Although nowhere in Paul de Musset's Biographie do we find mention of George Sand's play or of Varchi, it seems very evident that Alfred de Musset owed the material of his play to these two sources. His brother would have us believe quite differently, and refers⁽²⁾ vaguely to letters which state "qu'il avait trouvé dans les chroniques florentines le sujet d'un ouvrage dramatique en cinq actes, et qu'il prenait un grand plaisir à visiter les places publiques et les palais où il voulait mettre en scène les personnages de sa pièce. C'était le drame de Lorenzaccio."

It is natural to suppose that George Sand had planned to elaborate her play during the Italian trip, and particularly after an opportunity to see Florence and to study documents there. As her facility in Italian at that time was not to be compared with Musset's⁽³⁾, one may further suppose that her investigations would not carry her very far during her brief sojourn in that city, particularly as she was ill with fever at the time; but we do know⁽⁴⁾ that she could and did read Varchi. A little later, having

(1) Lafoscade, p. 130; Gauthiez, p. 393.

(2) Paul de Musset, Biographie de Alfred de Musset, p. 127

(3) Paul de Musset, p. 41

(4) Gauthiez, p. 388; Séché, vol. I, p. 42

contracted in Venice to write for Buloz, in payment for a large sum she had borrowed on Musset's behalf, Madame Sand set herself at the less arduous labor of doing this writing in her more usual manner instead of attempting an historical play. Paul de Musset said of Lorenzaccio "la pièce fut écrite en Italie",⁽²⁾ so it is probable that his brother, through George Sand's encouragement, began to work on it in Venice, the only place in Italy where they remained for any considerable length of time after Florence. The title was suggested by Madame Sand;⁽³⁾ and in other ways, as we have noted, the work shows her influence.

Although Lorenzaccio was sent to the Revue des Deux Mondes,⁽⁴⁾ it was not published there, no doubt because it was too long; but was first published in 1834 in Volume I of Un Spectacle dans un fauteuil, Prose, as previously mentioned. For years it was considered an impossible play to act, but finally Sarah Bernhardt decided to put it on the boards, taking the leading rôle herself.⁽⁵⁾ This was in 1896 at the Théâtre de la Renaissance.⁽⁶⁾ From time to time the play is still put on at the Théâtre Français, and an Italian version was played in Rome during the winter of 1918-19.

(1) François Buloz (1803-77) Editor of the Revue des Deux Mondes, founded by him in 1829.

(2) Paul de Musset, Lui et Elle, p. 102-3

(3) Séché, vol. II, p. 32

(4) Paul de Musset, Biographie, p. 138; A. Gillot in the Introduction to Lorenzaccio in Bibliotheca Romanica, wrongly states that it was published in the Revue des Deux Mondes.

(5) Gauthiez, p. 393

(6) A performance was given as recently as July, 1919

II.

OUTLINE OF THE PLAY.

The characters in Musset's play are as follows:

Alexandre de Médicis, duc de Florence

Lorenzo de Médicis (Lorenzaccio))	
)	ses cousins
Come de Médicis)	

Le Cardinal Cibo

Le Marquis Cibo, son frère

Sire Maurice, chancelier des Huit

Le Cardinal Baccio Valori, commissaire apostolique

Julien Salviati

Philippe Strozzi)	
)	
Pierre Strozzi)	ses fils
)	
Thomas Strozzi)	
)	
Léon Strozzi, prieur de Capoue)	

Roberto Corsini, provéditeur de la forteresse

Palla Rucellai)	
)	
Alamanni Salviati)	seigneurs republicains
)	
François Pazzi)	

Bindo Altoviti, oncle de Lorenzo

Venturi, bourgeois

Tebaldeo, peintre

Scoronconcolo, spadassin

Les Huit

Giomo le Hongrois, écuyer du duc

Maffio, bourgeois

Marie Soderini, mère de Lorenzo

Catherine Ginori, sa tante

La Marquise de Cibo

Louise Strozzi

Deux Dames de la Cour et un Officier Allemand;

Un Orfèvre, Un Marchand, Deux Précepteurs et Deux Enfants, Pages, Soldats, Moines, Courtisans, Bannis, Écoliers, Domestiques, Bourgeois, Etc., Etc.

La Scène est à Florence.

The play consists of five Acts, made up of thirty-two scenes. In making the synopsis, however, we shall omit the scene division.

ACT I.

Early on the night of the wedding of Niccolò Nasi's daughter, Lorenzo and Giomo le Hongrois accompany the Duke to an assignation. The meeting is with a very young girl who has been bought from her mother for a large sum of money, by Lorenzo on behalf of the Duke. After an encounter with her angry brother, Alexandre and Lorenzo masquerading as nuns go to Nasi's, where the festivities last till late in the morning. Merchants appear, opening their shops. They discuss the tyranny of Caesar, (the Emperor Charles V), and of the Duke and the Pope, they discuss the Germans, the Strozzi, the exiles, the Carnival, the Foire, etc. Guests begin to issue from the Nasi wedding festivities. The Duke leaves. Julien Salviati and Louise Strozzi appear. He makes coarse and intimate remarks to her, whereat she departs in anger.

We are now shown the Marquis Cibo saying farewell to his wife and to his brother the Cardinal, as he leaves for Massa, his

country-place. For political reasons, the Cardinal secretly plans to arrange the seduction of his sister-in-law by Alessandro ere his brother returns. After a few interviews, the Marquise is practically persuaded and soon yields. She salves her conscience by pretending that she can influence the Duke for the good of Florence.

Baccio Valori and Sire Maurice bring news to the Duke from the Pope, Paul III. The Pope reproaches the Duke for his habits, and Lorenzo for his misdeeds, and expresses fears lest he be treacherous. An exposition by the Duke ensues, of Lorenzo's cowardice and fear of arms.

Now comes the Foire at San Miniato, on Mont' Oliveto. In front of the church merchants establish booths where they sell their wares, and converse among themselves. Ladies and cavaliers enter. Léon Strozzi, the Prior of Capua, overhears Julien Salviati speak intimately of his sister Louise, and after rebuking him leaves the place. The Act close with a sad conversation between Marie Soderini and Catherine Ginori. They regret Lorenzo's changed life and recall his lovely youth.

ACT II.

Léon Strozzi, the Prior, enters the Strozzi Palace and tells his father Philippe and his brother Pierre about Salviati's insult to Louise. Pierre absents himself, and returns much later saying that Salviati has been murdered.

In another part of the city, in front of a church, Valori is praising the Catholic religion and the Florentine church-

8

es to Lorenzo. Tebaldeo, a young artist carried away by Valori's eloquence, which he overhears, joins them. Lorenzo waxes cynical with this youthful enthusiast, but makes an engagement with him. Not long after we see Tebaldeo in the Duke's Palace painting his portrait. Alexandre has doffed his coat of mail (which he continually wears next his skin, for protection against a surprise attack) and is described as half-naked when Lorenzo enters. By skilful manoeuvring Lorenzo takes away the coat of mail and hides it in a well. No one can find it, and no one is definitely suspected.

ACT III

Lorenzo and Scoronconcolo practice arms in Lorenzo's room. They shout and scream continually, to distract attention should any real quarrel ever occur there. Scoronconcolo promises to help Lorenzo kill any enemy he has, and says that he could kill twenty men in the room and no passerby would realize it.

It develops that Salviati was only badly wounded. He, on a guess, accuses the two Strozzi brothers to the Duke, who ordered them imprisoned. They had planned a family dinner of forty to discuss revolting against the Médicis, but Pierre is arrested before it and can not attend. Lorenzo passes and encourages Philippe by promising to kill the Duke very soon. They have a long talk during which Lorenzo tells Philippe that his sixty years of virtue make him unfit to take part in violence. Lorenzo explains that he has debauched Alexandre on purpose to keep his intimacy; that he is a new Brutus and will free Florence. At the Strozzi dinner, Louise dies of poison after drinking wine, but no

one knows - or ever discovers - who administered the draught.

Already in this short time, the Duke is tired of the Marquise Cibo and her great plans for him and for Florence.

ACT IV

The Duke asks Lorenzo to arrange a secret meeting with his aunt Catherine. Lorenzo lyingly says they can meet the next night in his rooms, and then he arranges with Scoronconcolo to be there.

Meanwhile the Cardinal threatens the Marquise Cibo because she has lost her influence over the Duke, and says he will tell the Marquis of her relations with Alexandre unless she obey his orders. She rebukes him as a priest of the Church, and finally confesses to her husband. We find at the end of the play that apparently her offence has been condoned.

Outside Florence the rebels and exiles are gathering, hoping that Philippe will lead them; but he tells Pierre that he will never move against his own city, and they refuse to move without him.

Lorenzo visits various Seigneurs telling them that the Duke will be murdered that night. They do not believe him. A little later Cardinal Cibo and Sire Maurice warn the Duke, who is supping in his own Palace, that they fear trouble from Lorenzo. The Duke insists that they are wrong, and when Lorenzo enters, asks him if he shall wear gloves for warfare or for love-making, and then accompanies him to his rooms as arranged. There Lorenzo prepares him for bed and then goes off ostensibly to get Catherine.

Returning in a few moments he says "Dormez-vous, Seigneur?" and then thrusts a sword in the Duke's body. Alexandre struggles, whereat Lorenzo claps a hand over his mouth. The Duke seizes Lorenzo's finger between his teeth firmly, and Lorenzo again pierces him with a sword. Scoronconcolo enters and helps, but recognizing who it is, becomes greatly terrified. Lorenzo, after the death, goes to the window for air. Then they draw the curtains around the bed, and locking the door go out, taking the key with them.

ACT V

The Seigneurs discuss the Duke's non-appearance next morning. Giomo comes and announces the murder. The nobles plan secrecy while considering what to do, lest the populace arise. Cardinal Cibo who had learned first about the murder, is already making plans. The military commanders of Pisa, Arezzo, and Pistoia have been sent for, and after a discussion with the nobles, he sends for Come de Médicis also. Finally the murder is announced. Come is voted Duke, and les Huit offer a reward for Lorenzo's assassination.

Bourgeois, tradespeople and others discuss the murder of the Duke. The significance of the number 6 in connection with the event is talked about; the Duke was 26 years old when he was killed at 6 o'clock (Florentine time), on the 6th of January (Florentine style), having ruled 6 years. They further debate about tyranny and the struggle for liberty.

Finally Come arrives and is proclaimed Duke, and Cardinal Cibo makes him swear (1) to administer justice, (2) to obey Charles V, (3) to avenge Alexandre, (4) to support Alexandre's two illegitimate children.

Meanwhile Lorenzo reaches Venice in his flight, and is received by Philippe Strozzi who is living there. Philippe hails him as the new Brutus, and makes some rather ineffectual plans for the future of Florence. Lorenzo hears a proclamation being read in the street, setting a price on his head. After being some time in Venice, he receives word of his mother's death, and begs Philippe to go out walking with him. The latter says that Lorenzo tempts Destiny too much. So Lorenzo goes out alone to the Rialto. Philippe sends two servants to follow after and guard Lorenzo. One of these returns almost immediately and informs Philippe that Lorenzo has been slain by an assassin who was hidden in a doorway, and that his body has been thrown into the canal.

III

VARCHI AND THE PLAY

Not having access to more than one edition of Varchi, nor to the Italian extract from that author appended to the 1834 edition of Un Spectacle dans un fauteuil, we must content ourselves with the French translation of the extract, to be found in the 1888 edition of Musset's Complete Works,⁽¹⁾ and with the Milan edition

(1) Oeuvres Complètes de Alfred de Musset, vol. 4, p. 214

(1)
 of Varchi published without date early in the nineteenth century. The French version entitled Chroniques Florentines has no mention of the author, but it is a part of Book 15 of Varchi's Storia Fiorentina. It gives a résumé of Lorenzo's early life and the story of the murder. Musset's play and the extract hang together very well. As a translation, however, the extract is not exact on all points. For instance, the French states that Lorenzo was born March 24, 1514; the Italian says that he was born March 23, 1514, or in the Florentine style, March 22, 1513. And when the Duke questions Lorenzo about which gloves to wear, in the French, he asks, "these of war or these for good-luck?", while in the Italian he asks, "these of war, or these for making love"; and further when Lorenzo addresses the Duke at the moment of the murder in the French he says "n'en doutez-pas", which is certainly not what was meant in the Italian by "non dubitate". Gauthiez states that "Musset, peu soucieux des datesest exact dans Lorenzaccio. L'histoire n'est pas moins respectée, en somme, que les mœurs du temps." Sufficent liberties, however, were taken by Musset in his play to be commented on at some length, and to make us disagree somewhat with this statement of Gauthiez.

On consulting Varchi's Storia Fiorentina, we find, among other things, that the events in the play covered in reality a far

(1) Benedetto Varchi, Opere, Storia Fiorentina

(2) O.C., vol. 4, p. 214

(3) Varchi, p. 409; Gauthiez, p. 28 gives March 22, 1514, or March 23, 1513 (Florentine style)

(4) O.C., vol. 4, p. 219

(5) Varchi, p. 411

(6) O.C., p. 220, and also in the play, Act. IV, sc. 11

(7) Varchi, p. 411

(8) Gauthiez, p. 391.

greater period of time than Musset indicated, and that often they did not occur in the same order. The Nasi wedding, for instance, with which the play opens, Musset places a few months before Alexandre's murder and in the pontificate of Paul III, in January 1536 (Florentine style). This actually occurred in 1533, and while Clement VII was still Pope. In this same scene the "accursed fortress" is talked of. This fortress, the Fortezza da Basso, was begun at the instigation of Pope Clement VII. Its foundations were started in 1533 and its corner-stone laid in July, 1534; and yet at the time of the wedding of Nasi's daughter it is spoken of as completed.

The poisoning of Louise Strozzi in Act III, scene 7, really happened on December 4, 1534, instead of in 1535 and shortly before the murder. It was in 1535 that Lorenzino stole the Duke's jacket of mail, but under quite different circumstances from those in the play. One day, when Alexandre and Lorenzino were together in the ducal palace, the Duke laid aside his coat of mail and went into an adjoining room. Lorenzino, unnoticed, withdrew with it and dropped it in a well at the Saggio Canuana. Varchi says that Lorenzo told him this in Venice.

Although his bride is not mentioned in the play, the Duke's wedding to Marguerite of Austria, natural daughter of the Emperor Charles V, took place just a short time previous to the

(1) Varchi, p. 358. Clement died Sept. 25, 1534, *ibid.*, p. 356.

(2) Philippe Strozzi lent the money for the construction of this fortress, all unwitting that he would be imprisoned and killed in it. It is also called the Fortezza di San Giambattista.

(3) Varchi, p. 363

(4) *Ibid.*, p. 368

(5) Act. IV, scene 6; Varchi, p. 382

(1)
murder, on June 13, 1536.

The elaborate numerical phenomena noted in Act V, scene
(2)
5, are also discussed in Varchi, but it must be noted that in order to make the system symmetrical one must reckon entirely in the Florentine style, which consists in beginning the new day immediately after sunset, and the New Year on March 25th.

(3)
Musset has drawn Philippe Strozzi as a man of lofty ideals, of sympathetic character and with a rather paternal attitude towards Lorenzino. On the other hand, Varchi depicts him as a man of absolutely loose morals and debauched life, although most fascinating and generous. His views on freeing Florence from
(4)
tyranny were historically somewhat vacillating, as they are in the play. One realizes that Musset has laid particular stress on the
(5)
fondness of the bourgeois for the Strozzi family. This characteristic is also indicated by Varchi.
(6)
(7)

(8)
The assailants of Julien Salviati were, in all probability François Pazzi, Thomas Strozzi and Pierre Strozzi, but Musset omits François Pazzi from any share in the attack. He makes Thomas Strozzi a son of Philippe, whereas he was a nephew.

Varchi has no reference to the young artist Tebaldeo
(9)
Freccia, but there is mentioned a young man called Freccia in
(10)
Lorenzo's employ, who appears after the murder.

(1) Varchi, p. 408

(2) Ibid, p. 413; Pignotti, p. 219

(3) Act III, Sc. 3

(4) Varchi, 409, etc.

(5) Ibid; Act II, Sc. 5; etc.

(6) Act I, sc. 5, etc.

(7) Varchi, p. 346

(8) Act. II, scene 3; cf. Varchi, p. 359

(9) Act. II, sc. 6

(10) Varchi, p. 412, Gauthiez, p. 251

The first part of the history of England is divided into three periods. The first period is the period of the Saxon heptarchy, which lasted from the middle of the fifth century to the middle of the ninth century. The second period is the period of the Danish invasions, which lasted from the middle of the ninth century to the middle of the tenth century. The third period is the period of the Norman conquest, which lasted from the middle of the tenth century to the middle of the twelfth century.

The first period of the Saxon heptarchy is divided into three sub-periods. The first sub-period is the period of the Jutes, which lasted from the middle of the fifth century to the middle of the sixth century. The second sub-period is the period of the Angles, which lasted from the middle of the sixth century to the middle of the eighth century. The third sub-period is the period of the Saxons, which lasted from the middle of the eighth century to the middle of the ninth century.

The second period of the Danish invasions is divided into two sub-periods. The first sub-period is the period of the Danish invasions, which lasted from the middle of the ninth century to the middle of the tenth century. The second sub-period is the period of the Danish settlements, which lasted from the middle of the tenth century to the middle of the twelfth century.

The third period of the Norman conquest is divided into two sub-periods. The first sub-period is the period of the Norman conquest, which lasted from the middle of the tenth century to the middle of the twelfth century. The second sub-period is the period of the Norman settlements, which lasted from the middle of the twelfth century to the middle of the thirteenth century.

The relations of Cardinal Cibo and Marchese Lorenzo Cibo of Massa, brothers in the play, are somewhat confused with those of Lorenzo Cibo and Giambattista Cibo, Archbishop of Marseilles. (1)
In 1535 these latter two, to avenge the Duke's intimacy with Lorenzo Cibo's wife, plotted unsuccessfully to kill him with gun-powder. (2) The Cardinal appeared chiefly after the murder and in connection with the Duke's successor.

Musset makes one character out of two in the person of Giomo le Hongrois. Varchi distinctly represents two persons here for he says "Giomo e l'Unghero." (3)

Musset calls the Cardinal Baccio Valori, "commissaire apostolique". (4) Here is another confusion or combination, for although under Pope Clement VII, Valori held that office and exercised considerable influence, under Pope Paul III he lost it. (5)

Varchi and the play do not correspond as to the Duke's escort from his palace to Lorenzo's room on the evening of the murder. (6) According to Musset, it was at a pre-arranged hour and with only Lorenzo as escort; according to Varchi, it was not an engagement and the Duke took with him four attendants part way, dismissing three and leaving one to watch opposite Lorenzo's house. (7) This last, however, did not remain, but after a time, went home.

(1) Varchi, p. 376

(2) Varchi, p. 416

(3) Varchi, pp. 411, 413, etc.

(4) O.C., vol. IV, p. 2, "Personnages".

(5) Varchi, p. 365

(6) Act IV, sc. 10

(7) Varchi, 411

Other differences are that in the play, Lorenzo is killed
 shortly after his murder of the Duke. The time, although not
 definitely stated, is apparently not more than a few weeks. In
 reality his death did not occur until ten years afterward. Phil-
 ippe Strozzi, who was killed in the Fortezza da Basso in 1538,
 is represented by Musset as surviving Lorenzaccio. On the other
 hand, Lorenzaccio's mother who did survive him, is mentioned as
 dying shortly before he is assassinated.

(1) Act. V, sc. 7

(2) Varchi's Storia Fiorentina does not continue beyond 1537; cf. Gauthiez, pp. 331-54

(3) cf. Segni, Storie Fiorentine, pp. 303, 304 (vol. I)

(4) Act V, sc. 7

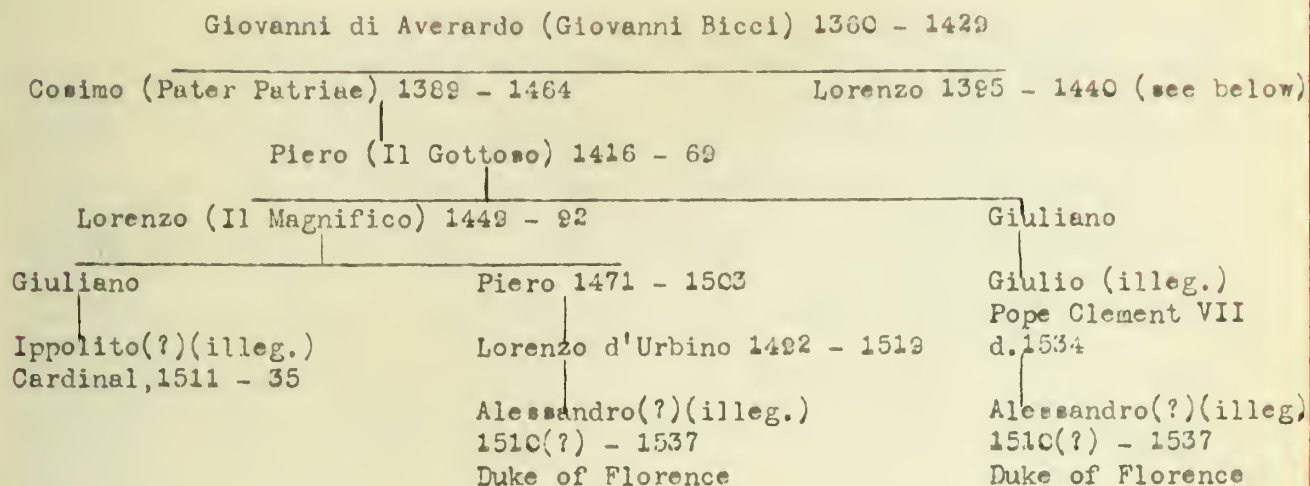
(5) Cf. Segni, vol. II, p. 68; also Bibboni, Morte di Lorenzo de' Medici in Classici Italiani, vol. LXXXIV

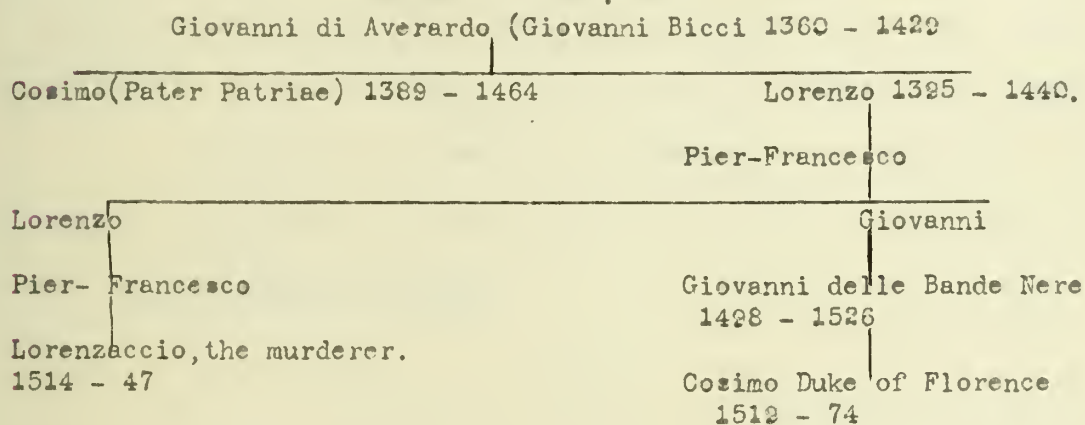
(6) Act V, sc. 7



b.

Table showing certain important members of the Medici Family.





c.

The de Medici Arms

(1)

The de Medici arms were red balls on a shield. The number of these balls varied from time to time, ranging from eleven to six. Lorenzo the Magnificent had six; and Cosimo, Pater Patriae, had seven. Some writers have spoken of the balls as Medicine Pills, thus playing on the name "de Medici". Piero il Gottoso was honored by Louis XI of France, who admired him greatly, with the permission to add to the arms, a blue ball bearing the French fleur de lys, which is similar to the Arms of the Florentine republic. This ball was retained by Piero's descendants and relatives. The de Medici motto was Sempre.

Giovanni di Averardo de' Medici was of middle class. The de' or dei had no reference to nobility in the name, but meant of the Medici family.

(1) Young, p. 185; the balls were called "Palle", as is seen in Varchi. Musset rather misunderstood the cry of "Palle", and in his play, although translating it "Boules", seems to make it refer to the votes for election instead of an acclamation of the family. Cf. Act V, scene 1; Roscoe, p. 382, n. 8

HISTORICAL COMMENTARY ON PERSONS APPEARING IN THE PLAY

Alexandre de Médicis, duc de Florence (Alessandro de' Medici) ⁽¹⁾

1510?-37

Alexandre de Médicis was generally accepted as Lorenzo d'Urbino's son, but, more or less sub rosa, was said to be the son of Pope Clement VII. Chroniclers of the day seem to be sometimes of one opinion, and sometimes of another about the question. If he was not the Pope's son, why did Clement early favor such an un-
 (2)
 attractive specimen of humanity, instead of the more pleasing Ippolito, or even Lorenzino or Cosimo? Lorenzaccio in his
 (3)
Apologia, does not state conclusively whose son the Duke was, except that he was born of a serving woman (whom he caused to be killed when he was a grown man), the wife of a man in equally humble circumstances, and that therefore as they were man and wife when he was born, Alexandre was emphatically not a Médicis. It is evident
 (4)
 from the pictures, coins and medals of Alexandre that he was very
 (5)
 much of the negro type. There were many negroes serving in the various Médicis houses and one theory about Alexandre's birth based on that fact, is, that he was Lorenzo's son by an African

(1) Mark Noble says in his Memoirs of the Medici that Alexandre was born in 1510. Other books consulted give no date.

(2) Gauthiez, p. 62, Varchi, books 12, 13, Ferrai, p. 71

(3) Cf. p. 20; there is a letter in existence supposed to be from his mother; cf. Ferrai, p. 449

(4) Benvenuto Cellini made several medals for Alexandre in 1535, cf. Life of Benvenuto Cellini, p. 286

(5) Gauthiez, p. 97, cf. Bronzino's portrait of Alexandre de Médicis in the Galleria degli Uffizi in Florence.

(1)
 slave. Roscoe states that this was the common supposition, yet adds that Duke Cosimo declared to Ammirato the historian, that
 (2)
 Alexandre was Clement's son.

(7)
 It was in 1531, that owing to civil dissensions in Florence, an opportunity came to Pope Clement to take a leading hand in its affairs. He had made a secret agreement with the Emperor Charles V, and with Francis I of France, and felt able to put his own candidate at the head of the city of Florence. Naturally he wished this to be someone near to himself so that he could actually keep a control of affairs, and he forced the Florentines to accept Alexandre as "Doge of the Florentine Republic". In 1535, Alexandre became more powerful through his marriage to Marguerite of Austria, the youthful illegitimate daughter of the Emperor Charles V.

Alexandre's life was uncontrolled from the point of view of his licentious pleasures; his administration at the outset of
 (4)
 his career has been at various times praised for its wise decisions, and he has even been compared to Solomon; but his debaucheries, encouraged and often suggested by his so-called friend Phillipe Strozzi and his cousin Lorenzino de Medici, were the plague spot
 (5)
 of Florence. For some reason Paolo Giovio calls him "il povero Principe", when relating the story of the murder, but pity is not one of the feelings usually inspired by his career. According to all the authorities consulted, Alexandre was a fearless man, and

(1) Roumont, l'eschichte Toscana's, vol. I, p. 20

(2) Roscoe, p. 325, note on p. 324

(3) Gauthiez and others give February, Noble gives July; Young, Vol. I, p. 470

(4) Ammirato, History, book 31, quoted in Pignotti, pp. 200-3 etc. Segni, p. 183; Roscoe, p. 491, note 46; A. Ferrai, Lorenzino de' Medici, p. 127

(5) Paolo Giovio, Istorie, p. 497

even reckless in the face of repeated warnings, which would tend to show that he was not at all superstitious. It is interesting to note in connection with this, that he insisted on his wedding occurring during an eclipse of the sun in defiance of the advice of astrologers whose influence in those days was considerable.

When Lorenzo's room was opened the morning after the murder, the body of Alexandre was wrapped in a carpet and secretly conveyed across the street to the sacristy at San Giovannino del Scolopo.⁽²⁾ Here it was kept until the murder was announced to the populace. The burial was in the chapel of San Lorenzo, where the body was placed in the tomb of Lorenzo d'Urbino.⁽³⁾ This seems to be one reason for supposing Alexandre to be really Lorenzo's son. Varchi, in fact, after stating at times that he was Clement's son, and at times that he was Lorenzo's son, says that he was buried in his father's tomb.⁽⁴⁾

Lorenzo de Médicis (Lorenzaccio) 1514-1547

Lorenzo was first cousin of Cosimo and was probably third cousin of Alexandre de Médicis.⁽⁵⁾ His full baptismal name was Lorenzo Giovanni Batista. Maria Soderini, "una donna di rara prudenza e bontà",⁽⁶⁾ was his mother, and by her he was brought up with great care, as his father, Pier-Francesco, died early. He spent much of his youth in Caffagiolo in the Mugello, in Fiesole.⁽⁷⁾

(1) Varchi, p. 413; Segni, p. 259;

(2) Gauthiez, p. 257; Varchi, p. 414; Other authorities say the sacristy at San Lorenzo.

(3) Young, p. 511; Varchi, p. 425

(4) Varchi, pp. 10, 123, 330, 331, 425; Ferrai, p. 71

(5) Cf. Table p. 18

(6) Varchi, p. 409

(7) The Mugello is a valley northeast of Florence.

and in Florence. During this time and later, he had as tutor, Francesco Meffi. Lorenzo adored study and books; among his favorite occupations were the reading of Dante, Petrarch and the philosophers. He had learned Latin at seven years. Because of his studious inclinations⁽¹⁾ he was frequently called "il filosofo". During the earlier upset condition of Florence, Lorenzo with two of his cousins and a tutor, was sent for safety to Venice. Gauthiez quotes a most sympathetic description of him at this time and "up to his twentieth year", given by Giuliano Ughi, a Franciscan monk⁽²⁾ of the period. Later Lorenzo was summoned to Rome by Clement VII, with whom he found favor until the time of the following incident. One night when alone in the Forum, the idea came to him to decapitate the small statues on the arch of Constantine,⁽³⁾ and he did so. For this vandalism he was banished from Rome under pain of death. Before Clement knew who had committed the outrage, and not suspecting Lorenzo, he had ordered the offender - unless it should be Cardinal Ippolito de Médicis - to be put to death. On discovering the truth, he changed the order to banishment, but he never forgave Lorenzo.⁽⁴⁾ No real reason has ever been found for this action on Lorenzo's part, but it seems like one of our modern "brain-storms", and quite in keeping with his other abnormalities.

On leaving the Pope, Lorenzo attached himself to the court in Florence, and early planned to rid the world of the

(1) Giovio, p. 497, Gauthiez, p. 43, Roscoe, p. 325, Nabier, p. 41, etc.

(2) Gauthiez, p. 51

(3) Some authorities declare that Lorenzo mutilated statues in San Paolo's also, Ferrai, p. 101

(4) Act III, sc. 3

(1)

"tyrant" Alexandre. The reasons given by Musset in the play are the accepted ones, and the method used in the play by the New Brutus to maintain his influence with Alexandre are authentic.

(2)

(3)

We know that Lorenzaccio went to Venice after the murder, but in the play his own end comes so quickly that we are left to imagine him as never leaving Venice. As a matter of fact, he went to Constantinople and remained some time in the Near East. Then he went to France where he studied and whiled away considerable time. Finally he could not bear to remain away longer from Italy, and returned to Venice where, unknown to him, Captain Bibboni soon appeared, and kept watch on his movements until a suitable opportunity came to kill him and gain the offered reward.

(4)

(5)

(6)

According to Gauthiez, Lorenzaccio wrote his comedy Aridosia for the wedding festivities of Alexandre and Marguerite of Austria, and Aristote di San Gallo had the arranging of the stage. This play, an elegant comedy, ranks well in Italy among those writings accepted as literary models. It was printed in Bologna 1548, in Lucca 1548, and in Florence 1595. This is a work of approximately 130 pages with a short prologo. There are five Acts containing some 31 scenes in which sixteen characters appear.

(7)

(8)

(1) Cf. Apologia

(2) Act III, sc. 3

(3) Cf. Varchi, Segni, Giovio, etc.

(4) In March or April, 1537 with the son of Doge Andrea Gritti; cf. Ravello, p. 230, n., Ferrai, p. 273

(5) Francesco di Bibboni, Morte di Lorenzo de Medici, pp. 183-208 of Classici Italiani, vol. LXXXIV

(6) L'Apologia e L'Aridosia, ed. Massimo Bontempelli, also Aridosia e Apologia ec, by Federico Ravello, cf. the latter p. 69, n. for the title.

(7) A famous architect.

(8) Roscoe, p. 490, n. 41

(1)
Borgognoni considers Aridosia only second to Machiavelli's Mandragora. It is not an original work, but an imitation of Terence and Plautus; the character of Aridosio is drawn from the Lucilione of Plautus, whom both Molière and Goldoni copied.

Lorenzaccio wrote his Apologia, of course sometime between 1537 and 1547, but it is not definitely known when. It is, as its title implies, an explanation and justification of the murder of Alexandre. Leopardi declared this piece of work to be "un esempio di eloquenzia grande e perfetta da ogni parte", and it still ranks very high for its clearness and vigor. Briefly its argument is this: I. Liberty is good and tyranny bad. Tyrannicide is the duty of every patriotic citizen. II. Alexandre was undeniably a tyrant and offensive to citizens, and was only favored by a few infamous men. Certain of his cruelties are mentioned. Ancient history is searched for examples of tyrants. III. Some say he should not have killed Alexandre, being his servant, relative and confidant. He was no servant, for he never was paid; no relative as Alexandre was of low degree and born of a serving woman married to a carter and therefore he was not a Médicis; and he was no confidant as Alexandre never trusted anyone. In any case, tyrants are better dead, no matter how they are killed. IV. As to his actions after the murder: he could accomplish nothing alone; the Florentines were weak and useless, and so were the exiles on whom he had relied. He had never even thought of Cosimo as a successor to Alexandre. V. It was not his fault if Florence had not become free, for he had risked his life for her although in vain.

(1) Ravello's Introduction to Aridosia, p. 56

(2) It is after his visit to Constantinople, as he refers to that.

(3) Ravello's Aridosia, p. 189-93

The account given by Bibboni of tracking and murdering Lorenzaccio is very cold-blooded. The plan was suggested to him and to a friend of his. They finally agreed to carry it out and went to Venice, a city well known to Bibboni. There they took lodgings near where Lorenzo lived. But Lorenzo almost never left his house, so that they were at a loss what to do. Luckily for their plans, Roberto Strozzi with a certain captain who had as a servant a friend of Bibboni's, came from France to Venice. Bibboni at once took up with his old friend, and found a pretext to get into Lorenzo's palace. There he watched Roberto and Lorenzo go out and enter a gondola. Not having seen Lorenzo for some years, he made sure from his servant friend which one he was, where the two men were going, and who was Lorenzo's mistress. (1) He also discovered that Pierre Strozzi had practically been supporting Lorenzo, although recently he had reduced the amount of his financial aid. From now^{on} Bibboni was able to keep a constant watch on Lorenzo's movements. Various plans for the murder fell through, but finally on March 13th, the second Sunday in Lent, it was accomplished. From a cobler's where he was watching, he saw Lorenzo in his window dressing, and saw his guard go in and out. Then Bibboni went for his companion and together they went to the Church of San Paolo, where they waited, one at each door, for they expected Lorenzo to pass by there. Soon the guard appeared, followed first by Lorenzo, then by Alessandro Soderini. Bibboni jumped before Soderini, brandishing a dagger and said "Get out! We are not here for you!" Soderini, however, seized Bibboni's arm, whereupon Bibboni wounded him and then they fought together. After Soderini

(1) Elena Barozzi Zantani, cf. Ferrai, p. 347

was mortally hurt, Bibboni turned to find his accomplice vanished and Lorenzo on his knees. Immediately he cleft Lorenzo's head with his sword, and took to his heels. The two assassins got later and took refuge at the house of a certain count for whom they had done a favor (one surmises another murder!). There, while they were cleaning up after their fray, someone came in hunting for a doctor, saying that Lorenzo de Médicis and Alessandro Soderini were mortally hurt. No one arrested the pair, and they immediately put themselves under the protection of the Spanish Ambassador. After various vicissitudes and devious wanderings they finally reached Pisa where they had an audience with Cosimo and were rewarded.

Cosimo de Medicis (Cosimo)(1519-74), cousin to the two de Médicis mentioned previously. Cosimo was the son of Giovanni delle Bande Nere and Maria Salviati. He was silent, tricky, vulgar, egotistic-al and without talent, but had the qualities of a "perfect" tyrant. Throughout Lorenzino's early life he kept making continual lawsuits against him and even asked Alexandre's aid in them. The country-seat favored by his branch of the family was at Trebbio, about fifteen miles from Florence and not far from Caffagiolo. As the play ends with Cosimo just beginning his career as Duke of Florence, we shall not follow him further.

(1) In connection with this figure it is interesting to note that there is a statue of "John of the Black Bands" in Florence, in the Piazza San Lorenzo, not far from the Médicis palace, and that Browning refers to it at some length in the first part of The Ring and the Book. Gardner, p. 288, calls this statue "inane".

(2) See Gauthiez, for various descriptions of Cosimo.

Cardinal Cibo. This Cibo's name was Innocent; the name of the
 (1)
 Archbishop of Marseilles was Giambattista. The Cardinal, an ap-
 pointee of Clement VII, was governor of Florence for Alexandre
 (2)
 during his absences, and after Alexandre's death conducted affairs
 until Cosimo was made Duke. He administered the oath to Cosimo,
 (3)
 and delivered an address on that occasion.

(4)
Sire Maurice, chancellor of The Light (Ser Maurizio da Milano)

Every chronicler is agreed in describing Sire Maurice
 as a bitter, cruel man, and as such Musset has characterized him
 (5)
 in the play. He very definitely distrusts Lorenzaccio, and gave
 Alexandre good advice about him. He was under the patronage of
 the Pope, and kept watch on the court at Florence.

Cardinal Baccio Valori, apostolic commissary.

Valori was the ambassador of the Emperor Charles V, and
 (6)
 of the Pope Clement VII at the treaty after the siege.

The Farnese Pope, Paul III, removed him from his high
 political offices and he became rather a plotter against the ac-
 knowledged authorities. Finally Cosimo had him killed in the
 (7)
 Bargello. He had a son - as was not uncommon among Cardinals -
 and had plans to marry him to a Strozzi; but this fell through.

(1) P. 15

(2) Gauthiez, p. 74, Varchi, p. 416

(3) Varchi, p. 416

(4) Varchi, p. 333; Segni, p. 221, etc.

(5) Act I, sc. 4, Act IV, sc. 10, Varchi, pp. 360, 413

(6) Pignotti, p. 193

(7) Gardner, p. 339

Julien Salviati, (Giuliano)

Julien was a relative of Maria Salviati, the mother of Cosimo de Médicis. He and his wife led very dissolute lives, yet in a certain sense resented criticism. For Julien desired that other women should be as ill-spoken of as his wife, and attempted to give the impression that he had intimate relations with Louise Strozzi. Musset's version of the incident very nearly resembles the truth. Salviati was among Alexandre's most intimate friends at first. Later on apparently the Strozzi incident was overlooked and he became friendly with the Strozzi family.

Séché thinks that Musset and Julien Salviati are much alike, and tells us that Musset is descended from the daughter of Cassandra Salviati who married the son of Claude de Musset in 1580.

Philippe Strozzi, (1488-1538), (Filippo)

Philippe Strozzi proved to be from the first, a lover of his own interests rather than of those of his country. Although he had previously stood out against the Médicis, he was one of those who encouraged the Pope in his plans for Alexandre and Florence, and he lent the money for the construction of the Fortress planned by Clement to strengthen Alexandre's power. The Strozzi family was one of the richest families in Italy, and may be counted among the earliest banking concerns. Already by 1534, Philippe

(1) Varchi, p. 358

(2) Act III, sc. 7

(3) Varchi, p. 360

(4) Séché, I, pp. 20, 36, 41-7

(5) Pignotti, p. 205

(6) The Fortezza da Basso. This stood where the gate of Faenza was originally.

had rejoined the radicals and had plotted against the Duke. He
 (1) was atheistic, a spendthrift, and corrupt, but clever. (2) In
 seeing evil, Lorenzaccio had an efficient aid in Philippe, who,
 although twenty years older was a close friend of the younger
 groups of men. Impressions gained of Philippe from the play, and
 from chroniclers and historians, are, as has been indicated, quite
 (3) at variance; and one is unable to discover why the figure of
 Philippe Strozzi should have made such an appeal to Musset.

Philippe's wife was Clarice, the sister of Lorenzo de
 Médicis, Duke of Urbino and the supposed father of Alexandre.
 They had seven sons, the four older of whom were about Lorenzaccio's
 age, and were treated by their father more as brothers. Segni
 (4) considered them far more serious minded than Philippe. Pierre, who
 was identified with the rebels, became much disgusted with his
 father's vacillations after the Duke's murder. (5) It seems possible
 that if Philippe had led the rebels as they had thought he would,
 they would have freed Florence from tyranny. He might as well
 have headed the rebels from the point of view of his own safety,
 because Cosimo managed to have him arrested as one of Lorenzaccio's
 accomplices, and imprisoned him in the Fortezza da Basso which his
 own money had helped construct. Here, after undergoing torturings,
 (6) he either committed suicide or was murdered, in 1538. Legend has
 it that his dying words were, "If I have not merited pardon, send

(1) Gauthiez, p. 67; Biagi, Men and Manners, p. 161

(2) Segni, p. 183-4; Napier, vol. V, p. 3; Varchi, pp. 324-5

(3) P. 14

(4) Segni, p. 184

(5) Varchi, p. 429

(6) Jardner, p. 339; Segni, p. 303, 304

(1)
my soul where Cato's is."

Pierre Strozzi (Piero)

Pierro, the son of Philippe, was the same age as Alexandre de Medicis, and was the eldest of Philippe's sons, Francesco Zeffi was his tutor as well as Lorenzaccio's, and through him he knew Latin and Greek, but "disprezzava, come facevano in quel tempo i
(2)
più de' Fiorentini, la toscana." He was arrested in the Carnival scandal in 1532, which made him very angry against the ruling power. He was again arrested after the attack on Julien Salviati in 1534, and while he was in prison composed a sonnet protesting against his restraint. There was found on the wall of the prison
(3)
after his release, the following terzetto.

"Qui Piero Strozzi a mattina sono,

Perch'ei volevan ch'ei dicesse sì:

Ei nollo disse, perch'egli era no."

Pierre was an ardent rebel from now on, and endeavored to make up to the "fuorusciti" for his father's vacillations. Later he went to France where he became a *maréchal*.

(4)
Thomas Strozzi, a nephew of Philippe's, called also Masaccio. He too was supposed to have attacked Julien Salviati.

Léon Strozzi, prieur de Capoue, a son of Philippe's. His part in
(5)
the play follows Varchi quite noticeably.

(1) This quite possibly was invented because of his suicide. It may refer to Purgatorio, I; cf. Derniers Sentiments, Vol. I, p. 95

(2) Varchi, pp. 341,

(3) Ibid, p. 360

(4) The ending "accio" meaning dislike, renders this name "Ugly Thomas".

(5) Varchi, p. 359

(1)
Roberto Corsini, overseer of the fortress, (Bertoldo),

Corsini was really opposed to the tyranny, although he was at this time the director of the fortress. His real name according to Varchi is Bertoldo.

Palla Rucellai. Probably Palla di Bernardo Rucellai who was
 (2)
 strongly opposed to Cosimo's election.

(3)
Alamanno Salviati, Probably Alamanno d'Averardo Salviati who had married Lorenzino's sister Maddalena de Médicis, who later
 (4)
 married Roberto Strozzi, or possibly Alamanno di Jacopo Salviati who mediated between the Duke and the Strozzi.

François Pazzi. This Pazzi was an intimate friend of the Duke's
 (5)
 and of the Strozzi and he was suspected of aiding in the attack on Julien Salviati.

(6)
Bindo Altoviti. An uncle by marriage of Lorenzo's. He aided Lorenzo financially after the murder.

(7)
Venturi. No doubt this was Batista Venturi.

Tebaldeo (Later called Freccia). This is not an historical character.

- (1) Varchi, p. 415
- (2) Varchi, p. 415
- (3) Ibid, p. 412
- (4) Ibid, p. 361
- (5) Ibid, p. 215, 359
- (6) Ibid, p. 412
- (7) Ibid, p. 415

Scoronconcolo, spadassin. This man has been variously called
(1)
Baccio, and Michele del Tavoluccino. Scoronconcolo is given by
all the authorities as his nickname.

Les Huit. This was a Committee of Watch and Ward forming a sort
of police system in Florence. Under Lorenzo the Magnificent,
this committee's main function was political, and it watched for
(2)
offenses against the state.

Giomo le Hongrois, squire of the Duke. This character is taken
from Giomo di Carpi and L'Unghero. "L'Unghero his chamberlain
(3)
along with Giomo di Carpi another minion educated along with him."

Maffio. Not an historical character.

Marie Soderini. Madonna Maria was the daughter of Fiammetta
(4)
Strozzi and Tommaso di Paolantonio Soderini. She married Pier-
Francesco de Médicis and became the mother of Lorenzo. Catherine
(5)
Ginori was her half sister and being much younger than Marie
often called her "madre". Marie was a woman of great virtue and
a devoted wife and mother.

(6)
Catherine Ginori. Catherine Soderini married Lionard Ginori
whose palace was near the rear entrance of the Médicis palace.
She was very clever, beautiful and virtuous. Alexandre tried to
(7)
gain her favor through Lorenzaccio.

(1) Varchi, p. 410, Napier, p. 43, n.

(2) Act III, sc. 3; Here Philippe characterizes Les Huit

(3) Napier, p. 9; See Segni, Varchi, etc.

(4) Varchi, p. 409

(5) Ibid, p. 410, Ferrai, p. 62

(6) Ferrai, p. 62

(7) Varchi, p. 410

La Marquise Cibo. During her husband's absences at his estate in Massa, Riccarda Malaspina, the Marchesa Cibo, used to take her (1) children and stay at the Paszi palace. It was here that Alexandre paid court to her; and here the Cibo brothers planned to blow him up with gunpowder.

Louise Strozzi. This daughter of Phillipe had been married to Luigi Capponi. She was beautiful, gentle and virtuous, and was (2) much admired by the Duke. Her tragic death has already been (3) mentioned.

(1) Varchi, p. 376-7

(2) Pignotti, vol. IV, p. 205, Varchi, Segni, etc.

(3) p. 13

HISTORICAL COMMENTARY ON DETAILS IN THE PLAY

ACT 1.
Scene 1.
-----Chez Nasi:

Niccolò Nasi was marrying his daughter Marietta to
Guglielmo Martelli and was having a Masquerade Ball for the occa-
(1)
sion.

Scene 2.
-----Prince Aldobrandini:

There were several Aldobrandini living at this time; this
was probably Salvestro (a "jurisconsulte"), who was later exiled
(2)
for plotting against the Médicis.

jeu de paume:

A game of Handball, or ball played with racquets. Ball
games existed as far back as the time of Homer. In the 14th
century racquets came in, and about the time of the Emperor
Charles V, enclosed courts were used for the game.

(3)
Le Carnival: (from "carne vale" or "farewell to meat"). This
festival occurred on Shrove Tuesday, and in Florence it was the
custom of the young men, usually led by the Strozzi, to roll a huge
balloon or ball through the streets. They would hit the passersby
and destroy property with no regard for the rights of others. The
hour for this performance was usually announced by the sound of a

(1) Varchi, p. 358; See also, p. 6 above.

(2) Varchi, p. 428

(3) Ibid, p. 345-6

trumpet, but on the occasion referred to here, this warning was not given and much more than ordinary damage was caused. The offenders including the Strozzi sons, were imprisoned. Philippe Strozzi gained their acquittal, and the family was so popular among the bourgeois that no claims for damages were made. (1)

maudit ballon: see the previous note.

Les Foires: (from Forum, market, or Feria, fête)

These occasions mentioned were on every Friday in March. Stalls and booths were erected in front of San Miniato on Mont' Oliveto, just outside of Florence. Penitents repaired to San Miniato, and indulgences were granted to all who made the pilgrimage on these days. (2)

nos grandes familles: There were about eighty great families in Florence in those days, and, as Philippe Strozzi says "eighty palaces". (3)

Deux Architects malavisésle pape et l'empereur Charles

"le pape " here could mean either Clement VII, or Paul III; l'empereur Charles is Charles V. (4)

Citadelle: The Fortezza da Basso, see pp. 13, 19, 30.

(1) Act I, sc. 5

(2) Varchi, p. 358. San Miniato al Monte dates probably from the 11th century.

(3) Baedeker for 1913 gives 66 great palaces in Florence now; Act III, sc. 7.

(4) Gauthiez, pp. 60, 66, 75-8, 93-5: Charles V, (1500-56), was the son of Philip Archduke of Austria and Joanna, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain. By 1519, he had inherited the crowns of four dynasties and had been voted Holy Roman Emperor. Various plays, beside Musset's, mention him, e.g. Hugo's Hernani, and Schiller's Don Carlos, etc.

Les Allemands: Soldiers of the Emperor

un bâtard, une moitié Médicis: Alexandre

sa robe de nonne: a favorite masquerade of both Lorenzo's and the Duke's.

Scene 3

Massa: On the coast between Spezia and Pisa.

Cousin Ippolyte: Cardinal Ippolito de Médicis, the illegitimate son of Giuliano, and the great grandson of Lorenzo the Magnificent, (1449-92)

Le bonnet de la Liberté: The Phrygian cap was worn in early times by freed slaves. Later on, the coin of Brutus the younger had a Phrygian cap on its reverse. This idea was repeated after the (1) murder, on a Venetian coin with Lorenzaccio's head on the face.

vous, son bras droit: not strictly historical

la citadelle des ombres Allemandes: German soldiers garrisoned the Fortezza.

César: Charles was Holy Roman Emperor and therefore "Caesar".

aigle impérial: Caesar's standard.

(1) Roscoe, p. 491, n. 48

Scene 4

(1)

Paul III: Alossandro Farnese (1467-1549), became Pope Paul III in 1534. His private life was immoral, but as a prelate he was able and wise. He started the Counter-reformation, and under him were organized the Loyolists and the Jesuits. He patronized Michelangelo and encouraged the arts. His bastard son Piero was a most vile character.

(2)

César et le pape ont fait de moi un roi, etc:

Here Alexander as Duke and ruler of Florence resents being spied upon.

Les désordres, etc.: The Pope disapproves of the notoriety of the Florentine court.

Lorenzo de Médicis que le Pape reclame, etc.:

The Pope resents Alexandre's favor towards Lorenzo exiled for his mutilation of the arch of Constantine in 1534.

(3)

Clement VII feu mon cousin: See Table, p. 18. Clement exiled Lorenzo.

Pierre Farnèse.....l'evêque de Fano:

This refers to Pope Paul III's illegitimate son who so maltreated the Bishop of Fano that he died.

(4)

(1)Gautnierz, p. 94, 246; McKilliam, A. E., A Chronicle of the Popes
 (2) See note (4) below. p. 415
 (3) See further on in the same scene; cf. p. 23 above
 (4) Varchi, p. 443; Fano is situated on the Adriatic coast across from Florence.

J'ai chez moi les premiers artistes de l'Italie:

Alexandre encouraged the arts and patronized Cellini,
(1)
Domenico di Polo, Vasari, Pontormo, Michelangelo, etc.

Le peuple appelle Lorenzo, Lorenzaccio:

(2)
This name would then be "hateful" or "ugly Lorenzo."

(3)
Messire Francesco Molza:

Francesco-Maria Molza, a poet under patronage by Cardinal Ippolito de Médicis who encouraged him to make this discourse, and in it question where such a pest could find a refuge. This was jealous Ippolito's hit at Alexandre.

Renzo, un homme à craindre, etc.:

This characterization of Lorenzo by the Duke corresponds excellently to the impression given by the chroniclers of the
(4)
time, Varchi, Segni, etc.

un philosophe:

Lorenzo was frequently called this for obvious reasons.

un gratteur de papier:

He really wrote easily and well, vide Aridosia, etc.

(1) Gauthiez, p. 197

(2) Cf. Gauthiez, p. 104, 125-6

(3) This is historical except as to the date. It is interesting to observe that shortly after the murder, Molza wrote an epigram praising the deed. eg. Pignotti, p. 221; Gauthiez, p. 81-2; Varchi, pp. 410, 420.

(4) Gauthiez, pp. 117, 121-3; Varchi, pp. 409-10; Segni, p. 249

(1)

ces damnés bannis:

Although Lorenzo's sympathies were with the rebels, he frequently betrayed their plans to gain the further confidence of Alexandre.

(2)

de petit corps maigre:

Here the Duke describes the appearance of Lorenzo.

qui sourit quelquefois:

Every chronicler makes note of this: cf. Varchi, p. 410, "non rideva, ma ghignava".

Scene 5

Nouvelle tour de Babel:

The Fortezza da Basso: "Babel" because of the confusion there between the German and Italian languages.

si j'étais un grand artiste:

All great artists then depended on the patronage of rich families.

ce hableur de Cellini:

Benvenuto de Cellini (1500-71) the artist in metals, worked for Alexandre among others. (3) He was a great talker, as may be inferred from his autobiography.

Vieux Marché : Mercato Vecchio, which was demolished to make room for the modern Piazza Vittorio Emanuele. (4)

(1) Lorenzo was a spy for both parties, Gauthiez, p. 106

(2) Varchi, p. 409-10

(3) Gauthiez, p. 107, Cellini, pp. 300-9, including notes.

(4) Baedeker, Central Italy, p. 626

César est à Bologne:

(1)

The Pope and the Emperor met at Bologna to draw up the treaty and for the coronation of the Emperor. After this they made Alexandre Duke of Florence.

Noblesse des Strozzi est chère au peuple:

Musset continually insists on the popularity of the Strozzi which emphasizes the unpopularity of the Médicis.

(2)

supplique adressée par les bannis:

The exiles frequently sent appeals both to the Emperor and to the Duke.

(3)

une figure sinistre.... palais du Pazzi:

The face was Alexandre's! He visited the Pazzi palace to see the Marchesa Cibo who stayed there during the absences of her husband.

(4)

Scene 6

Mon Renzo..... rentrer de son college....avec ses gros livres sous le bras:

There seems to be no authority for "collège" during his youth. Gauthiez is satisfied that he did study in a "collège" in France, after the murder.

(5)

son Plutarque:

(6)

Plutarch was translated into Italian by this time, and

(1) P. LaCroix Manners and Customs of the Middle Ages, p. 491

(2) Varchi, p. 346

(3) Ibid, bk. XIV

(4) Ibid, p. 376

(5) Gauthiez, p. 301

(6) Gauthiez, pp. 105, 119, 223-5

Lorenzo could probably have had opportunity to read it in either language.

Père de la patrie:

Cosimo de Médicis (1389-1464), became ruler of Florence in 1434.

ACT II

Scene 1

un homme sans pudeur ... a pour femme la plus grande dévergondée, etc

(1)

Giuliano Salviati and his wife have already been described as notorious for their evil lives.

Scene 2

quelle satisfaction, etc.:

Note the complacency with which Valori speaks of his religion, its "tolerance" and the appeal it has to the senses, But as Lorenzo remarks, what Valori says "is all perfectly true and perfectly false".

Raphael: Raffaëlo Sanzio (1483-1520)

notre divin Buonarotti: Michel Angelo (1475-1564)

Campo Santo: The cemetery. The only general one is at San Miniato.

un citoyen peut etre assassiné:

(2)
This remark of Tebaldeo's is perfectly well founded.

(1) Varchi, pp. 222, 358

(2) Cf. Cellini, Varchi, etc.

l'Annonciade ou à Ste. Marie:

The church of the Annunziata was modelled after an oratory in Caffagiolo. It was founded in the 13th century and was filled with frescoes by Cosimo Roselli and Andrea del Sarto. Del Sarto's wife Lucrezia, was his model for some of his work here, and he and she were a subject for one of Musset's earlier plays,

(1)
André del Sarto. There are so many churches in honor of the Virgin that one can not tell definitely which one Musset meant here; the best known one in Florence is Santa Maria Novella.

Scene 3

Farnèse: the Pope Paul III

Rome et César: The Pope and the Emperor secretly felt that they had full control of affairs in Florence through their agents.

St. Sébastien: martyred in Rome in 288 A.D., by being tied to a pillar and then shot at with arrows.

Confiteor: the confession in the Catholic church.

l'histoire romaine ... Tarquin le fils .. Brutus... Lucrèce:

Tarquin the Tyrant was overwhelmed by Brutus after his son had outraged Lucretia, 510 B.C.

Lorenzino: In this play Lorenzo is called Lorenzino, or little Lorenzo; Lorenzaccio or ugly Lorenzo; Lorenzetta in mockery of his apparently feminine qualities; Renzo, Renzino, and Renzinaccio as pet names.

(1) This was first published in the Revue des Deux Mondes, 1833

(1)
chez le Strozzi ce vieux fou; Philippe Strozzi.

The following conversation indicates Lorenzo's treachery to both parties.

lever de bonne heure: Lorenzo is planning further exilings.

allé chez les Pazzi:

This shows the possible connection of Francesco Pazzi with
 (2)
 the Salviati incident.

(3)
cette famille immense: They sat down at a dinner of forty.

rue des Archers: "via della Piazza della Pallottole abocca nella via
 (4)
 via de' Balestrieri".

Scene 6

cotte de mailles ... le puits:

This scene is not historical as it stands, as has been noted, but Lorenzo did steal the coat of mail and he did throw it
 (5)
 down a well.

films de pape: Here Musset accepts that origin of Alexandre.

(1) This is an alibi for Piero if Lorenzo is dining with him.

(2) Varchi, p. 360-1

(3) See p. 8

(4) Varchi, p. 359

(5) See p. 13; also Varchi, p. 382

Scene 7

J'ai reconnu Pierre et Thomas; je ne connais pas le troisième:

Salviati did claim to know two of the three and to guess
(1)
at the third.

ACT III

Scene 1

crie plus fort: referring to the noise Lorenzo made in order to
(2)
deceive later on if he really did kill some one there.

dents d'Ugolin etc.: Dante in Inferno XXXII, shows Count Ugolino
della Gherardesca, tyrant of Pisa, gnawing the skull of his enemy
(3)
Archbishop Ruggieri.

J'ai un ennemi: This is an historical conversation.
(4)

Scene 2

chez les Pazzi: Referring to the Conspiracy of the Pazzi which
(5)
occurred in 1478.

Iu es soixante ans de vertu:

Not true in any sense. Philippe was born in 1439 (Flor.
style), and this was 1536; moreover he was a libertine.

Niobé: her fourteen children were turned to stone to punish her
scorn for Latona who had but two children.

(1) Varchi, p. 359

(2) Varchi, p. 412

(3) Ruggieri had starved him in a tower with his children and grandchildren.

(4) Varchi, p. 411

(5) Pignotti, p. 102 ff.

ma jeunesse a été pure comme l'or: The monk Giuliano states this.

je jurai qu'un des tyrans:

Lorenzo had considered murdering Clement VII first, but
(2)
was banished too soon. See below.

paralytique comme Cicéron: Cicero (106-43)

avait fait un duc d'un garçon boucher:

Here Musset makes Lorenzo apparently doubt Alexandre's
(3)
being a Médicis.

Cloche de verre:

Musset met with this figure first in a translation from
(4)
Jean Paul Richter; which he reviewed in le Temps in 1831. He seems
to have been struck with it, for he uses it in Fantasio, Act I, sc.
2., and in la Nuit de Décembre.

The apparent regret of Lorenzo in this scene for his
vicious life, does not find corroborating testimony in any chron-
icles.

d'Harmodius et d'Aristogiton:

Conspirators against Hipparchus, Tyrant of Athens, 514
B. C.

curiosité monstrueuse apportée d'Amérique:

It seems a little soon for the use of the name of
America in a conversation of this sort, only forty-four years after

(1) Gauthiez, p. 151

(2) Varchi, p. 410

(3) L'Apologia (Bontempelli ed.) pp. 4,8

(4) Reprinted in Mélanges, vol. 1A of his Oeuvres Complètes.

its discovery. However, both Columbus, who discovered it, and Amerigo Vespucci, from whom its name came, were Italians.

Erostrate: He burned the temple of Diana at Ephesus to gain fame.

Scene 6

Ce vieux du Vatican: Paul III was about 68 years old.

Doge de Venise: Doge is the Venetian form for Duke. The custom is an old one.

Déclare Florence indépendante:

She wants Alexandre to break from the Pope and the Emperor, and to rule alone.

César est mon beau-père: His only reference to his marriage.

Il y a à Florence quatre-vingt palais: see page 36

ACT IV

Scene 1

les sonnets de Pétrarque:

Francesco Petrarca (1304-73), the second great figure in Italian literature, wrote sonnets in praise of a lady he called Laura. Musset makes the Duke say of Lorenzo that he could
(1)
only write a bad sonnet.

Caffagiolo: in the Mugello, between Florence and Faenza. There was a porcelain factory there belonging to the Médicis.

(1) Act I, sc. 4

Oreste: ~~was~~ son of Agamemnon king of Greece, and of Clytemnestra, killed his mother who had been seduced by Egiste, to avenge the murder of his father by Egiste.

Scene 4

une femme comme les autres:

Musset here and further on gives his own cynicism full play in the mouth of Cardinal Cibo.

manger du riz ... à la mode turque:

The Turks preferred excessively fat women and encouraged them to gain flesh by eating rice.

vin de cypre: Cyprus has long been famous for its wines.

Arétin: This refers to Pietro Aretino (1492-1557), who as well as being a great scholar, was a very lascivious writer. Aretine is the adjective of the name of the city of Arezzo.

Marché-Neuf: This market was not constructed until 1547-51 according to Baedeker, but Varchi speaks of the "Mercato Nuovo" several times.

Alexandre est fils d'un pape: See page 44

Scene 5

à Sestino qui arrivent du Piémont:

Pierre refers to the rebels. Sestino may be Sesto Fiorentino four or five miles from Florence.

François Ier ... vous écrit: Francis Ist (1494-1547), king of
 (1)
 France. He was arrayed against Charles V much of his life. Here
 he wrote to enlist the Strozzi and the rebels against the Emperor's
 rule in Florence.

d'un passage de Pline:

(2)
 Filippo Strozzi was a dilettante in literature, and had
 undertaken a version of Pliny's Storia Naturalis.

Scene 10

The warnings in this scene are based on many warnings
 (3)
 received by Alexandre.

(4)
l'evêque de Marzi: "Vescovo de' Marzi". Agnolo Marzi of Assisi
 (5)
 who managed that department.

la permission: Lorenzo really got this permission.

il m'a mordu au doigt: Varchi and others mention this especially.

C'est le duc: Scoronconcolo was aghast during the murder to find
 that the victim was really the duke.

(6)
Lorenzo s'asseyant sur la fenetre:

This apparently unimportant point was mentioned by
 Varchi and others. The window looked on the via Larga.

(1) Varchi, p. 429

(2) Gauthiez, p. 68-71, Varchi, p. 325

(3) Varchi, p. 413, etc.

(4) mentioned by Varchi, p. 412 and passim; Napier, Vol. V, p. 46

(5) Varchi, p. 412

(6) Ibid, p. 411

ACT V

Scene 1

Le Cardinal Cibo est enrermé:

He takes the reins of government as the Duke is absent.

la sacristie: Probably in the church of San Giovannino degli Scolopi.
(1)

Primo avulso: from Aeneid, Book VI

Octavien de Médicis:

In the councils of the Duke. Marguerite of Austria had lodged at his house when she arrived in Florence. (2)

mon fils naturel, Julien: Canigiani says this. (3)

Guicciardin: Historian and publicist, (1482-1540)

Alexandre Vitelli: Captain of the guard and in Alexandre de Médicis' councils.

aux voix, Voici vos billets: They start to elect Alexandre's successor.

Acciaiuoli: A member of an old Florentine family.

Je m'oppose à ce vote: Rucellai who says this, is against tyranny, and pro-republic.

lis donc ce papier: See Varchi's account of the price on Lorenzo's head. (4)

(1) i.e. scuole pie

(2) Varchi, pp. 408, 416

(3) Varchi, p. 415

(4) Ibid, p.425; Gauthiez, p. 288

Le feu duc Alexandre a été tué l'an 1536: This is discussed on p.1.

On demande les boules: Contrary to Musset's idea this refers to the
(1)
Médicis arms and not to the election system.

sapientissime doctor vous avez fait... un sonnet: "Most
learned Doctor .. you have written a sonnet". The writing of
sonnets in the style of Petrarch was a favorite occupation in the
XVI century.

Scene 8

ma mère est morte: His mother actually outlived him.

le bisaieul de Saturne: This indicates extreme old age, as
Saturn was the father of Jupiter.

sortir d'Italie: Philippe urges him to leave Italy. He actually
was absent from Italy for a long time; chiefly after Philippe's
death.

Rialto: Ponte di Rialto, or di rivo alto. In speaking of the
Rialto one means the district here quite as often as the bridge.
The Rialto figures in The Merchant of Venice.

Scene 9

(2)

juré quatre chose: A close copy of Varchi.

Très nobles et très puissante seigneurs, etc.: This is practically
(3)
a translation of the original document.

(1) Varchi, p. 417; see p. 19 also note (1)

(2) Varchi, p. 416

(3) Ibid, p. 417

OTHER LITERARY TREATMENTS OF LORENZACCIO

There have been various other literary treatments of
 (1)
 Lorenzaccio's mad deed. Gauthiez has discussed somewhat at length
 the following versions of the story:

Vittorio Alfieri published in 1778, a poem called first
le Tyrannicide, and later Etruria Vendicata.

In a poem bearing the lengthy title, Paralipomeni della
Batracomachia, Giacomo Leopardi speaks of the murder of Alexandre.

Francesco Benedetti lauds Lorenzo's act in a work on the
 lives of sixteen Italian "heroes".

Giuseppe Revere wrote an historic prose drama with notes,
 called Lorenzino de Medici, in 1839. In the same year, Léon
 Bertrand produced Laurent de Médicis. Luigi Leoni wrote an
 historical drama in verse called Lorenzino de Medici in 1843.

Alexandre Dumas wrote in 1841, Une Année à Florence,
 in which he described the murder; and in 1843, the Théâtre Français
 produced a short-lived drama by Dumas, called Lorenzino. In 1861
 appeared a volume entitled Une Nuit à Florence sous Alexandre de
Médicis, in which were combined various previous accounts by Dumas
 to make a romance of sorts.

Gauthiez mentions, without giving details, the nouvelle
 in the Héptaméron of Marguerite of Navarre (I,12). The story was
 (2)
 told to Marguerite by Lorenzino himself, yet she does not mention
 any names in her account, except that of Marguerite of Austria.
 The Duke of Florence is killed by "un gentilhomme" to save the
 honor of his sister, and only incidentally to free Florence from a

(1) Gauthiez, pp. 375 ff.

(2) Gauthiez, p. 274

tyrant.

Since the publication of Santanoz's book, Lem Benelli published in 1913 La Maschera di Bruto. Drama in Versi in quattro Atti. This had been played in Milan, in 1908. Benelli writes as follows: "I have lived in spiritual company with Lorenzino de' Medici, the Philosopher, the Poet, the Liar, the Corrupt, the Cowardly, the man expert in every vice and virtue. I know therefore now I could remake his life in many ways without changing his character. I believe that mystery was his greatest charm". He does not believe the testimony of Lorenzo's contemporaries and respects his "maschera".

The characters in La Maschera di Bruto are as follows:

Lorenzino de' Medici

Alessandro de' Medici

Jacopo Landino

Cardinal Cibo

Cardinal Salviati

Cardinal di Lorena

Un Fuoruscito

Gerome

Caterina Ginori

Margherita di Navarra

Anna d'Etampes

Maria Soderini

Laudomia

Margherita d'Austria

Messeri, Dame, Damigelle, Servi, Valletti, etc.

The play opens with a presentation of Lorenzino's comedy l'Aridosia, in the Medici Palace.

In Act I: The character of Lorenzino's relations with the Duke is shown. The Duke attempts to win Caterina Ginori, Lorenzino's aunt. Lorenzino resents this and later discloses his own love to her, and then makes a long confession about his attitude in Rome towards life, and his mutilation of the statues on the arch of Constantine and in St. Paul's.

In Act. II: The scene is in Lorenzino's rooms. Caterina has come to him. The Duke sends for him, and then secretly himself enters the room and woos Caterina. He says that Lorenzino has planned this. She denies it, but promises to be his. And on going into the next room with him she murders him instead. Lorenzino burst in and discovering the truth takes the blame on himself.

Act III is at Fontainebleau, whither he fled and where he remained for years.

Act IV is in Venice. Here he is assassinated in revenge for Alexandre's death, and his body is thrown into the canal.

The play contains allusions to events discussed in chronicles of the XVI century; but in many ways, as has been indicated, it is original in its story and its presentation.

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